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The more engrossing pastime of war, one is still happier to say, is now a thing of the past. The Orokaiva are a high-spirited and warlike people, and at no very distant date were frequently engaged in raiding, killing, and eating one another; and life in those times must have involved an anxiety, but also an alertness which are now entirely absent.

Nevertheless, the Orokaiva still loves the appearance of battle—perhaps more, indeed, than he ever loved its deadly realities. No sight is more typical of the people than that of the constantly recurring *esu*, sham-fight or hostile demonstration, with its charge and counter-charge, the forming in line of the warriors, crouched behind their shields and with spears in readiness. Such a demonstration is likely to occur whenever one group of clans enters the village of another, whether to accept hospitality or upon some business such as that of obtaining the bride-price of one of its daughters. On such an occasion one may always hear fierce harangues and altercations, the speaker running back and forth between the two parties, pausing before his auditors and brandishing his spear-point at their very throats. When he retires one of the opposite faction will assume the role of abuse and threatened violence. As a rule this will all pass off in friendliness unless perhaps some man lose his temper in earnest at the resuscitation of some especially bitter grievance, or as sometimes happens, the inflammatory taunts of an old woman, armed aggressively with her long quarterstaff, set the whole in a blaze. Then the sham fight turns into a real *mêlée* in which blows of spear and club are dealt with great freedom and received for the most part safely on the shield. But still the restraint of modern times will prevail. The village constable (unless he has forgotten his office in the heat of the moment and is already wielding a spear) dashes forward with his jangling handcuffs prepared to make an arrest—most likely no doubt on the side opposed to his own, the uproar dies away with nothing worse than a few cuts and bruises, and the business and hospitality of the day will even go on as if nothing had happened. Such friendly bouts as these are all that remain of the fighting days of the Orokaiva.

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181 at a disadvantage; Pahua speared his man in the side and
517 he fell into the water. His third victim was a woman. Long previously Pahua had lost a brother killed by the Hunjovarehu people and was naturally nursing his revenge. It now happened that a Hunjovarehu woman, sister-in-law to one of Pahua's countrymen, was visiting his village of Soroputa. Pahua was informed that she was asleep in a house, so he stole in, speared the sleeping woman in the breast and struck her on the head with a club. He was not ashamed but proud of this exploit, which satisfied his long-delayed vengeance.

Inter-Clan Fighting

519 The raid, or concerted fight, may involve different tribes or merely different clans of the same tribe. I have already explained the general difference between the former engagement (*isoro*) and the latter (*embogi*), which is a comparatively trivial affair. It appears that the *esu*, an example of which has been described in connexion with the marriage payment, may upon small provocation develop into an *embogi*. Many such affrays took place during my stay among the Aiga, though I was only fortunate enough to witness one of them. This occurred at the taking over of a marriage payment. The charging and counter-charging had given place to the individual harangues in which old grievances were discussed with some bitterness. The excitement seemed to have died away, and the pig had already been killed when an inopportune taunt set the whole village in an uproar. Both parties rushed to arms and were immediately involved in a confused conflict with three or four lively vortices. In a scuffle of this kind there is a great deal of sham. The participants rejoice in the loud impact of their spears and clubs upon one another's shields, but they are not out to kill. Minor wounds are common, though they are concealed if possible from the Government. In the above-mentioned case I must report, almost with regret, that we succeeded in quelling the uproar before it had reached a more interesting stage. The most difficult to pacify were the women, who,

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519 while doing little actual violence with their *poreba* or quarter-staffs, were very successfully inciting to violence with their tongues.

The *esu*, as I have said, is not associated invariably with a marriage payment. On the recent occasion of a death, when some clans gathered as mourners, they soon found themselves engaged in a hand-to-hand fight which resulted in one serious casualty. There is a semi-traditional account of a quarrel between two branches of the Koie-Bumana people who formerly inhabited a portion of the present Tain-Daware district. One party visiting the village of the other at a feast caused some amusement by their efforts at dancing. 'You are like cassowaries', said their hosts. 'And anyway, why have you come? There are no girls for you here.' The guests retorted that their hosts danced with the elegance of flying-foxes, and challenged them to a tug-of-war with a long rattan cane. This contest proving indecisive, the two parties seized their weapons and took to fighting in earnest, with the ultimate result that, weakened by their own quarrels, they were exterminated or driven out by the Tain-Daware.

519 266 There are many causes of inter-clan strife—the depredations of village pigs, the killing of a dog, the defilement of a water-supply, and frequently the suspicion of sorcery. But such quarrels lead to the *embogi*, which is usually more of a lusty sham fight than a struggle to the death; and only in the most exceptional cases do we hear of cannibalism. In the feud between the Aiga clans on the right and left banks of the Kumusi there was eating of corpses on both sides. But this was spoken of as a horrible thing, that speakers of one and the same language should eat each other.

The Tribal Raid

726 The tribal fight (*isoro*) probably involves an expedition in which a number of clans combine. The war signal—either for the alarm or the assembly, for both mean the same thing—is a fast-throbbing rhythm on the *bui*, called onomatopoeically '*kikiki*. . . .' (In these days of peace the same signal announces the arrival of a Government patrol,

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727 551 name of the second. His original name was Ata; his first victim was Asi and his second Ehari. He is now called Ehari though he has since killed five others.

Although the stoutest warrior does not disdain to take the life of a woman, he does not assume her name. I have one case, however, in which the slayer gave the name of his woman victim to his infant daughter. The habit of bestowing the victim's name upon the child of the slayer (sometimes born subsequently) is again a common one. I quote an example by H. L. Griffin:

> 'It is a common thing amongst the Binandele for a man who kills a big chief to take the dead man's name, which he becomes very proud of; but my orderly, Constable Gisi-Gada, received his name rather curiously. His father, a Dauntutu man, went to fight on the Waria, and killed a big Waria chief named Gisi-Gada. On his return his wife informed him that she was pregnant. He was so pleased at this that he said that, if the child was a boy, he should have the name Gisi-Gada instead of his father. Everything turned out as desired, and so my orderly bears the distinguished name. But it was an instance of self-abnegation on the part of the father that is very rare in Papua.'[1]

This is a typical example, though I cannot believe that self-abnegation in general is very rare among Papuans; and the particular habit of giving the name of the slain to the son of the slayer is not rare but common.

579 551 It is interesting to note that in the case of an inter-clan fight (somewhat unusually fierce) in which two were killed on one side and five on the other, the slayers did not take the names of the slain. For this I received the somewhat bald explanation that the two factions lived at too close quarters and feared magic.

727 551 554 The usual native explanation of the practice under discussion is that the name of the slain is adopted as a distinction. It draws attention to the fact that a man is *embo-dari* or *mai-dari*, i.e. a man-slayer, and marks him, therefore, as one of valour, *koropahuso*, 'strong or expert with the spear'. It serves to commemorate his exploit.

727 551 Another explanation has already been suggested, viz. that adopting the name of the slain is in some manner a protec-

[1] Quoted by J. H. P. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor, in *Annual Report*, 1908–9, p. 23.